

In doing so, for the very first time we applied the laws to ourselves that we passed for the rest of the country.

That is moral leadership, Madam President.

That is setting an example.

It says, "Watch what we do, not just what we say."

It is not often that Congress is able to exhibit moral leadership.

We do things more by consensus and compromise.

The reality of Congress is, we usually do things ugly.

Foreigners always have the best observations about our form of government. de Tocqueville, of course, is the most famous example.

But a Russian visitor, Boris Marshalov, once observed, "Congress is so strange. A man gets up to speak and says nothing. Nobody listens—and then everybody disagrees."

Madam President, that's precisely why leadership from the White House is so important.

The individuality of the President is required to provide the moral leadership for the Nation that Congress, as a body, cannot.

The country desperately needs it.

That is what Franklin Roosevelt was talking about.

Yesterday, I talked about why the White House has covered up all its non-legal activities, on both Whitewater and Travelgate.

It is because the activity of those in the White House conflicts with their projected image.

In the words of syndicated columnist Charles Krauthammer, it is "political duplicity * * * The offense is hypocrisy of a high order. Having posed as our moral betters, they *had* to cover up. At stake is their image."

Yesterday, I referred to and quoted from the new book by James B. Stewart, "Blood Sport."

The book reveals much about the Clintons to which Mr. Krauthammer alluded. Mr. Stewart raises several questions about the Clintons.

One is about their willingness to abide by the same standards that everyone else has to meet. A second is about whether they abide by financial requirements in obtaining mortgage loans. A third is whether they should have accepted favors from people who were regulated by the State of Arkansas.

Last week, Mr. Stewart was interviewed by Ted Koppel on "Nightline." In that interview, Mr. Stewart calls this a story about: "the Arrogance of Power, what people think they can do/and get away with/as an elected official, then how candid and honest they are when questioned about it."

He offers an illustration. It is a quote from the First Lady. She was advised by White House staff to disclose everything rather than stonewall. Let the Sun shine in, they said. But the First Lady rejected that advice. She said, according to Mr. Stewart, "Well, you know, I'm not going to have people

poring over our documents. After all, we're the President."

Madam President, I will put the entire interview of Mr. Stewart by Mr. Koppel into the RECORD.

That way, the RECORD will reflect the full context of Mr. Stewart's words, so that I am not accused of misleading the American people.

But Mr. Stewart's observations, as well as those of Mr. Krauthammer, heighten the public's awareness of a moral leadership void in the White House.

So I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the interview of Mr. Stewart by Mr. Koppel.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From "Nightline" Mar. 11, 1996]

TED KOPPEL [voice-over]. The Whitewater controversy, accusations made and denied.

JAMES STEWART [Author, "Blood Sport"]. Mrs. Clinton, essentially, took singlehandedly the control of this investment.

HILLARY CLINTON. We saw no records, we saw no documents.

TED KOPPEL [voice-over]. New questions about the Clintons' credibility.

JAMES STEWART. I think the death of Vincent Foster is the pivotal event in this story.

HILLARY CLINTON. There were no documents taken out of Vince Foster's office on the night he died.

President BILL CLINTON. An allegation comes up, and we answer it, and then people say, "Well, here's another allegation. Answer this."

JAMES STEWART. The President practically screamed over the phone. He said, "I can't take this anymore. I'm here in Europe and they're asking me about Whitewater."

TED KOPPEL [voice-over]. Now, the picture may become a little clearer. Tonight, new details about Whitewater, Vince Foster and damage control.

ANNOUNCER. This is ABC News Nightline. Reporting from Washington, Ted Koppel.

TED KOPPEL. This program may be the first you've heard about "Blood Sport," a new book which becomes available later this week, but it will not be the last. To begin with, you need to know how and why the book came about. The idea appears to have originated with Hillary Clinton. In any event, it was her close friend, Susan Thomases, herself a lawyer, who approached the author, Jim Stewart, and suggested that those closest to the First Family and, indeed, the President and the First Lady themselves, would be willing to cooperate with an objective, outside-the-Beltway writer on a detailed, no-holds-barred Whitewater book.

Stewart, a lawyer and former page one editor of the Wall Street Journal, had impeccable credentials. He had shared in a 1988 Pulitzer Prize for his reporting on insider trading. In 1991, he published the book "Den of Thieves," about financial fraud in the 1980's. Stewart took up the offer and even had one lengthy meeting with Mrs. Clinton at the White House, but the promised co-operation never materialized, although a number of people close to the Clintons did ultimately talk. Stewart went ahead and wrote the book anyway. Jim Stewart is a meticulous writer, which is another way of saying that there are few blaring headlines, but dozens of troubling revelations.

To understand what Jim Stewart has done, you need to refresh your memory on what the Clintons have variously claimed and insisted. The Clintons have insisted, for example, that they were only passive investors in

Whitewater, and had virtually nothing to do with it themselves.

HILLARY CLINTON. We gave whatever money we were requested to give by Jim McDougal. I mean, he was the one who would say, "Here's what you owe on interest, here's what your contributions should be." We did whatever he asked us. We saw no records, we saw no documents.

TED KOPPEL. The Clintons insist that they have fully cooperated with the investigation of Whitewater, but that they have been dogged by one unproved allegation after another.

President BILL CLINTON. That's really the story of this for the last four years. An allegation comes up and we answer it, and the people say, "Well, here's another allegation. Answer this." And then, "Here's another allegation. Answer this." That is the way we are—we're living here in Washington today.

TED KOPPEL. And only a couple of weeks ago, after the FDIC released a report prepared by Jay Stevens, a former Republican U.S. attorney not known to be friendly toward the Clintons, there was this.

MARK FABIANI [Associate White House Counsel]. This report blows out of the water the allegations that have been made about the First Lady and the Rose Law Firm, and it undermines the contention of those who would extend these Whitewater hearings endlessly on into the future.

TED KOPPEL. That may be as good a place as any to introduce Jim Stewart, the author of "Blood Sport," in his first television interview on the book, and let me have you respond right away, because the White House is obviously very proud of the fact that Jay Stevens, Republican, no friend of the Clintons, supervised a report by the FDIC which, in effect, according to the White House, found the Clintons blameless in the—in the Whitewater affair. Is that an overstatement?

JAMES STEWART [Author, "Blood Sport"]. Well, I think the White House reaction is misplaced optimism. The report is good news, as far as it goes, but it doesn't go very far. It explicitly says that it's not the definitive report on many of the questions that have arisen here, and there is still an independent counsel investigating all of these and even more allegations. As long as the independent counsel investigation continues, a real threat hovers over this President.

TED KOPPEL. Why or how do you explain the fact that Jay Stevens, who, as I say, has no particular love for the Clintons, why would he end an investigation if, as you say, it's incomplete?

JAMES STEWART. He was retained to investigate the narrow question of whether the government should sue the Clintons or others to regain losses from Madison Guaranty, and he concluded there was no evidence to warrant a suit against the Clintons or the Rose Law Firm to do that, and I think that's the right conclusion. I do not conclude that Madison Guaranty losses flowed to the Clintons.

TED KOPPEL. What then, do you conclude, that—I mean, try and give it to me in a broad sense. What is it that you would say if you were obliged, in 15 or 30 seconds, to summarize what is troublesome about Whitewater and what will still come back to haunt the Clintons?

JAMES STEWART. Well, I think the Whitewater investment and the story of that is important because it shows many things about the Clintons. It shows their willingness to hold themselves to the standards that everyone else has to meet. It shows their willingness to abide by financial requirements in obtaining mortgage loans. But I think, most of all, it shows their willingness, while in Arkansas, to accept the favors of people who were regulated by the state.